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of the first millennium B.C. The names for gold and silver are identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no equivalent cognate in either Baltic or Germanic. Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B.C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district of the northern Caucasus fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron mining and smelting in Poland even in the pre-Roman epoch. The smelting of silver and gold was, however, a post-dispersion development.

In ceramics as in metal working, the Slavs were imitators rather than pioneers. In all areas of pagan Slavic settlement we find well-turned and well-fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about this technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have been in contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated with horizontal stripes or rows of oblique lines, types developed independently of Roman influence.

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weaving. Since the primitive Slavs were far from expert bleachers, the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color. Not only is the general terminology as spinning and weaving throughout the Slavonic languages so homogeneous as to show that these

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primitive Germans, though the latter advanced more rapidly in proportion with their more intimate and prior contacts with the Mediterranean world. The predilection of the Slavs for agriculture is the natural consequence of their long residence in areas well suited for its practice: the plains of the Dnieper and the Vistula—though it is also likely that the epoch of the migrations and of repeated nomad incursions from Asia interrupted to some extent the sedentary tendencies and habits which the Slavs had previously developed. The primitive plow of the Slavs prior to the migrations was at first only a forked branch with one fork lopped short and cut into a point. It was later supplemented by a pole to which draft animals could be attached and a handle by which the driver could guide its course.

The primitive Slavic village varied in type. The houses might be grouped in horseshoe arrangement around a central space or in a straight line on either side of a thoroughfare. Neither of these village types appears, however, quite as primeval as the system whereby each household occupied an isolated structure in the midst of the lands its members tilled. Stone buildings were unknown. The earliest type of house consisted of a trench dug in the ground, the sides of which were raised by walls of logs stopped with earth. The wooden roof was also coated with earth as an additional protection. The primitive Slavs also erected rude log cabins without digging into the ground. We have no data on the internal furnishings of the Slavic house before the eleventh century A.D.

The chilly climate in which they lived made furs the primitive costume of the early Slavs. Furs later became an important item of Slavic export, as is shown by the early introduction of the Slavic names for squirrel and ermine into both Latin and Greek. The male costume among the early Slavs consisted of a coarse shirt falling to the knee, with sleeves and an opening for the neck, combined with wide trousers supported at the waist by a belt of rope or leather and tied in at the ankles. For the shirt they sometimes substituted a short tunic, which might be

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of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt, and it was usually buckled or pinned at the shoulder or in front of the neck. In cold weather sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) were worn for warmth. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen fabric, often representing a mere cylinder held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be encased in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear consisted of rough leather slippers held by a thong over the ankle or of slippers made of bast fiber. Men frequently wore wrapped leggings. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair long and braided. Men also wore their hair long in the primitive period. Close shearing and shaving, where they occur, are due to foreign influences, and in general it may be said that in matters of attire the Slavs were always prompt to adopt foreign usages.

Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled in the use of weapons. When they were first noticed by foreign writers they had no offensive equipment except bows and spears, and were unprotected by even the most elementary shields. It has already been noted that in the Slavic vocabulary the words for helmet and sword were taken over from the Goths. In the succeeding centuries, the constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions produced a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment representing a fusion of borrowed alien techniques so that when the southern Slavs invaded Greece at the end of the sixth century, their soldier was considered to be as good a fighter as the Byzantine regular. The Slavs, however, used no mounted troops until well into the historical period.

The Slavs were drawn very early into the orbit of European commerce, which in the peripheral areas of European antiq-

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uity depended upon itinerant merchants and traders following strategic watercourses. Even far to the eastward, when the Goths invaded south Russian territory, they maintained the same commercial relations with the Roman Empire which had been established earlier by German settlements along its frontier further westward. Caches of Roman coins, dating chiefly from the interval between Trajan and Septimius Severus (98-198 A.D.), which have been found in great profusion on the west bank of the middle Dnieper, show a remarkable expansion of trade with the Roman west in this area during the second and third centuries, hence under the Gothic hegemony and prior to the Slavic dispersion. Once the Goths had entered into relations with Byzantium and the Greek cities on the Black Sea, their interest in trade with the western Roman Empire waned, and from that point the Dnieprian Slavs largely received products of the so-called Gothic type from the barbarized Pontic workshops. As long as the Goths lived among the Slavs, they exercised a direct economic influence upon them, but once they had withdrawn to the coast of the Black Sea after the fall of Ermanaric before the Huns in 370, they ceased to be a significant commercial factor. Even when Byzantine trade set in during the fifth century, its volume was so restricted that from this point to the eighth century there is actually an interval in which the economic relations of the Dnieper valley with the rest of the early medieval world were in abeyance.

This interval coincides with the epoch of large-scale Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe, on the Danube, and in the Balkans; by the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age in Scandinavia, and the establishment of Arab control over Oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though also initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the medieval Slavic states and their advance to the level of

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contemporary material and intellectual culture which culminates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the various conversions both customs existed side by side. The primitive pagan Slavs were animists and attributed a soul to the natural elements in which they lived. They honored a supreme deity and also believed in the existence of wood, water, and household spirits to which they offered sacrifices. Beside these nature spirits, they also honored the spirits of their ancestors and thus believed in a future life. They deified the heavenly bodies and the great phenomena of nature (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, fire).

Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar*, signifying "heat,

[THE PERIOD FROM 700 TO 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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fifty feet in length and sturdy cargo boats of as much as fifty tons' burden, though for river navigation they used lighter craft. Where the aboriginal Slav of the Russian plains and forests was poor in weapons—even his word for sword (as we know) he had been forced to borrow from the invading Goths—the Swedish adventurer wielded a heavy, straight, two-edged blade and the battle-ax which later became the distinguishing weapon of the Byzantine emperors' Varangian guard.

In the main the Scandinavian immigrants to Russia from Sweden belonged to the yeoman class and apart from naval raids on the Black Sea coast generally abstained from the deeds of violence which characterized Viking visitations in Western Europe. The native Slavs were too humbly endowed to offer rich booty, and the Russes were manifestly more interested in setting up ordered and profitable commercial settlements than in the commission of futile barbarities other than those incidental to the habitual slave traffic. The tradition that Rurik and his brethren were accompanied by their kinsfolk would suggest that the social organization of the immigrant Swedes was still on the clan basis, and that the senior of the clan functioned as chieftain or *konungr*, supported by a *comitatus* (bodyguard, retinue) of his more or less distant relatives and accepted retainers. The Scandinavian energy and skill at arms, coupled with a pronounced gift for discipline and organization, stood the scattered Eastern Slavic tribes and embryonic towns in good stead at a moment when a cohesive impulse was essential for their survival.

Having settled along the Dnieper as far as Kiev, the Russes soon entered into commercial relations with the Khazar khanate, and after a raid on Constantinople in 860, regular commerce developed between the Greek empire and the cities on the Dnieper trade route. The chief Russian points of origin for this trade were Novgorod, Smolensk, Lubech, Chernigov, and Kiev. The Norse sources also mentioned Murom, Rostov, and Suzdal on the northeast, which owed their importance to

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the Volga artery. It is a historical fact of prime importance that the Scandinavian warrior-merchants who settled among the primitive Eastern Slavs founded no new towns themselves, but by their superior energy and military prowess made themselves the ruling class in urban centers of population which already existed. They were not the creators of the river-borne commerce from which they gained their livelihood. The routes and staples of this commerce had been defined far back in the early ages of the Mediterranean world, and the Russes who built up prosperous commercial relations with Byzantium simply renewed a system of exchange temporarily disjointed by the vicissitudes of nomadic movements.

Kiev was the chief trading post of the lower Dnieper valley, the center at which merchandise was collected for shipment to the Crimea or to Byzantium. The Viking or so-called Varangian chief who controlled Kiev was thus likely to surpass in wealth and prestige his competitors in the more northern cities. The domestic activity of a Kievan prince of the early tenth century consisted chiefly in collecting tribute in kind, the proceeds of which not only supported his family and the retainers on whom his military power was founded, but also served as a basis for trade, which was under the prince's direct control. As the early Varangian princes imposed their sovereignty over successive towns, they delegated a viceroy to each, but the practice of assigning junior princes of the ruling family to subject cities begins only with Prince Sviatoslav (956-972), father of Vladimir I, under whom the Russians were converted. By the early tenth century, the outlying tribes had been tied together in a loose confederation connected with Kiev by economic interests dictated by trade with Constantinople, and this trade was regulated by a formal treaty as early as 907.

The magnificence of the Byzantine capital early exercised its attraction on the Kievan aristocracy. Vladimir's grandmother, the Princess Olga (a lady of pure Scandinavian stock) not only administered the principality after her husband's violent death, but in 975 became a convert to Christianity and

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175* set up his capital at Sarai on the lower Volga, just below Stalingrad, to which for two centuries the Russian princes, who were the vassals of Tartars, traveled to make submission.

175* The Tartar invasion aggravated the depopulation of the
166 Kiev area which had begun under the Polovtsian menace. About the year 1300, even the metropolitan bishop of Kiev moved to Vladimir on the Klyazma, east of Moscow, and the remaining population took to the forests and hills. The result was a concentration of new settlements in the area immediately south of Moscow and considerable additions to the population of the western principality of Galicia-Volhynia, which became known as Little Russia, as opposed to Great Russia of the northeast. At the same time the northwestern principalities fell more and more into the hands of the rising Lithuanian state. The Galician-Volhynian principate was in a fair way to becoming an important national unit when it was devastated in 1283 by a Tartar expedition into Poland, with the result that Volhynia was taken over by the Lithuanians and Galicia by the Poles, who have held it intermittently from 1349 to the beginning of the second World War.

175* The economic results of the Tartar invasions were drastic even in the northeast. What national wealth was not destroyed by their pillage was extracted piecemeal by the process of collecting tribute. A population which had previously lived by hunting and fishing, importing its grain from the more fertile south, was now obliged to practice agriculture on com-
● [439] paratively unfavorable soil. A small amount of outside trade in furs, honey, and wax was maintained in order to secure silver with which to pay taxes, but domestic commerce was
175* paralyzed and did not recover till the fifteenth century. Fur-
421 thermore, even prior to the Tartar conquest, the Russian princes, despite their mobility, had begun to acquire fixed estates and thus to become landed proprietors. This process was accelerated by the Tartar hegemony since, for one thing, it was easier to collect tribute from a prince who was fixed, and besides it was difficult to obtain grants of new domains

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insured the commercial and economic prosperity of the country. The section of Prague now known as the Old Town was by the year 1200 almost wholly occupied by Germans, and was fortified by its own wall and moat. German law, craftsmanship, and commercial ability were particularly fruitful in the development of provincial civic centers during the twelfth century, and in the next hundred years they attained a high level of prosperity with flourishing handicrafts and agriculture. Their trade relations extended to Venice, Rome, Hamburg, Brandenburg, and Flanders; the primary article of Bohemian export was textiles. German colonization not only founded towns but also increased the number of free farmers. These German rural colonists were most interested in the settlement of the less fruitful districts, especially in the forests of the western and northern borders of Bohemia. Since the development of this land required much hard work, the native Czech peasantry had never been intensely concerned with it, and it therefore yielded no profit to the landlords until the Germans began to exploit it. Hence the colonists received attractive terms in the guise of local self-government and tax exemptions in order to induce them to take it up. These circumstances thus favored extensive German settlement in the border districts simultaneously with the evolution of a prosperous and wealthy German middle class in the growing Bohemian cities.

It is important to dwell on these conspicuous factors in the early development of Bohemia in order to show that the German penetration into this basically Slavic area occurred far back in the Middle Ages and is by no means a situation of recent growth. Since German settlements in the frontier districts actually took up land which the Czechs themselves had never occupied, any attempt to establish the frontiers of Czechoslovakia only on strategic considerations without regard to the conditions under which the country developed simply did violence to history and was inevitably destined to provoke discord. Whatever one may think of Nazi policy toward Czechoslovakia, the fact remains that the Germans had contributed

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in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

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On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

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It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

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Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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tions due for the exactions made by Bulgarian troops who occupied Serbian Macedonia during the war.

Yugoslavia's relations with the other Slav States followed the same lines as her relations with the Soviet Union. In June, 1949, negotiations in view of commercial exchanges with Czechoslovakia came to a standstill. In July, the two Governments exchanged subacid notes: Belgrade accused the Czechs of inspiring a campaign of press hostility towards Tito; Prague replied that any criticism tending to unmask Titoist treachery was 'a mark of appreciation and friendship towards the Yugoslav people'. Such arguments prepared the way for the formal denunciation of the pact of friendship and assistance. The Czechs, like the Poles, accused the Yugoslav diplomats of carrying on subversive activities: there were numerous recalls of diplomatic or consular agents, on the now customary charge of espionage on behalf of the 'capitalist powers'.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia endeavoured to renew commercial ties with the West. Her negotiations with Washington resulted in the agreement of July 19, 1947, liberating 47,000,000 gold-dollars and 220,000 dollars accruing from other Yugoslav credits in America, subject to the settlement of various arrears and repayments under Lend-Lease. The United States granted Yugoslavia the necessary licences for the delivery of materials destined for the equipment of a steel-plate factory; on November 3 they removed the prohibition on the supply of military equipment to that country.

And, on December 22, 1949, President Truman, confirming an assurance given by George Allen, his ambassador in Belgrade, declared: 'An act of aggression against Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia would be regarded by the Government of the United States as being just as serious as any act of aggression elsewhere'.

This change of attitude shows the road travelled in Washington since the declarations made, on November 1, 1945, by Secretary of State James Byrne, recognising 'the special security interests' of Russia in Eastern Europe, and affirming that the United States 'would never associate themselves with an intrigue directed against the Soviet Union . . .'.

Indeed, the United States and Great Britain decided to grant economic aid to Communist countries which were 'really independent', and resolved to fight the Kominform. In London,

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in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged, but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen. The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by condemning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.